

New York Tribune.

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements.

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The Crowning Humiliation.

Apparently there is at least one more humiliation in store for the American people at the hand of the German Government.

By raising a "point of honor" in the case of the dismissal of two "undesirable aliens" attached to her embassy in Washington Germany has furnished an interesting contrast between the extreme solicitude of the Imperial German Government for the honor of its servants and the total unconcern of the American Government for the lives of its citizens.

What Germany is aiming at ought to be clear even to Washington eyes. Since American public opinion will never be reconciled to permanent tolerance of the Lusitania crime, and the time is at hand when popular indignation will press a reluctant President to demand that disavowal which Germany does not mean to give, can there be any mistaking the German purpose to anticipate American action by breaking off relations herself?

Is it not plain that the present prospect is that, alleging the pretext that suits her home situation best, Germany is preparing to break off relations with the United States and thus avoid an issue over the Lusitania?

What a pleasant situation Mr. Wilson and his fellow countrymen will find themselves in if Count von Bernstorff is recalled and there is left not a single German representative on whom to serve a demand for the disavowal of the Lusitania murder!

Here would be a fine end to folly and the crowning humiliation for a people whose pride has long been in the dust. Here is a fitting climax to seven months of shame and national dishonor. And is there any doubt as to the fact that the German demand for an explanation in the case of the German attaché is a distinct threat, which seems to have been received with becoming attention in our own State Department?

Action Long Overdue.

The ousting of Mr. McCall was inevitable, on the evidence produced against him. He had violated the spirit of the Public Service Commission law flagrantly, and if he had not violated its letter also he had, by his own admission, violated another law, making him guilty of a misdemeanor. He was therefore unfit to serve; but this was no new thing. He never should have been appointed; it is inconceivable that any Governor, save a Sulzer, could have named him. Having been appointed, he should have been removed last spring, when Governor Whitman couldn't quite get his courage to the sticking point.

Mr. McCall represented politics in the commission, not the public. That is the trouble with this commission and with the upstate commission as well. They have fallen far from their status under Hughes. They have lost public respect; they are viewed with ridicule and suspicion. This unfortunate condition will not be remedied by the appointment of Republican politicians to replace the Democratic jobholders. The commissions need men—men of brains, of integrity, of keen feeling for the public rather than of tender sympathies for the corporations in which they may be—or have been—stockholders, or with which they may have had business dealings.

Until such time as the state has a Governor big enough to restore these commissions to the Hughes standard, the public is not to be expected to have too much faith in their operations in its behalf.

Building Good Citizens.

The Boy Scout campaign to raise \$200,000 deserves success. It deserves the co-operation of all good citizens and as much financial support as they can afford to give it. Money contributed to this fund is money put to excellent use.

A boy who obeys the Scout oath and lives up to the Scout law is the kind of son every parent desires. He is in training for a useful, honorable life. He is accustoming himself, day by day, to grow up into the brand of citizen this country needs. The youngster who has become a good Boy Scout can hardly fail to be a good man, trained to think quickly, to live cleanly, to do his duty honestly and fearlessly wherever circumstances may place him.

There is no single educational agency in the country to-day more valuable than this Scout organization, taking boys at the most sensitive and critical time of life and developing them morally and physically, training their minds and their bodies alike. It is quite possible, without it, for a boy to become a wholesome, square-dealing, sound-bodied, clean-minded youth, but the chances of such development are infinitely fewer if he has the Boy Scout training, with all its fine fun and splendid discipline. This campaign is intended to make it possible to enlarge the membership of the organization in this city 30,000 in the

next three years. For such a result the cost is very small. It is worth to the public more than the \$200,000 the public is asked to contribute.

Mr. Wilson on Preparedness.

The chief interest in President Wilson's message to Congress lies in the evidence or lack of evidence it offers of progress and education on his part. A year ago he dismissed with impatience the notion that there was any urgent need of putting the country into a condition of genuine military preparedness.

"Let there be no misconception," he blandly remarked in his message to Congress last December. "The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defence." And to make good that futile denial of a self-evident fact he saw to it that Congress did not add a single unit to our officers' corps, to our mobile army (twice the size of the New York City police force), to our first line reserve of sixteen men or to our second line reserve of state militia organizations.

A year ago the President rigidly refused to sanction any increase of the regular army. "We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as well as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms."

Yesterday, however, he recommended the passage of legislation increasing the officers' corps of the regular army by 2,103—or 41 per cent—and the enlisted force by 31,722—or 30 per cent. Nobody who has studied the lessons of the war in Europe will think such an increase of the regular establishment adequate. The greatest need of a nation at war or preparing against the contingency of war is trained officers. Trained officers are not to be produced except under conditions which give them the completest possible military experience. A trained officer's corps must be limited in size by the size of the regular army, which is its school of the soldier.

If we intend to create a system of genuine national defence, capable of meeting an invasion undertaken by a first class military power, we should have a minimum regular army of 250,000, with from 20,000 to 25,000 regular officers.

President Wilson could hardly have been expected to recommend an increase of the regular establishment to 250,000, in view of his unfortunate declaration a year ago. "We have never had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army," he said. And according to his conceptions a regular establishment of a quarter of a million men is beyond question "large."

Another regrettable legacy of the 1914 message is the President's resolve to base our whole system of defence on a second or third line "Continental" army. This is the offspring of the citizenry-called-actually-to-arms idea which has been the bane of our military theory from the days of the Revolution. To square himself in 1915 with his careless generalizations of 1914 he has submitted to Congress a plan of army reorganization repugnant to sound military principles. The Continental army is a political device—a half measure or quarter measure of preparation intended to conceal the absence of real preparation.

Congress should not be led astray by the President's manoeuvring for position. It can ignore the message of 1914, if he cannot do so. It is its duty to take the President's preparedness recommendations for what they are worth and to go ahead on its own responsibility reshaping our military system, so that we shall get a real army, adequately officered, for the uses to which we may in the near future have to put a real army. If war comes we should find 250,000 first line troops, fully organized and equipped, more valuable than 750,000 Continentals, trained only according to the militia model.

According to some interpreters, Mr. Wilson yesterday recast the Monroe Doctrine. We cannot see it that way. To our mind he merely obscured it a little by his remarks about the new Pan-Americanism. The Monroe Doctrine is not a Pan-American doctrine. It is a doctrine enunciated and upheld by the United States.

It has, moreover, a very direct bearing on the question of our military preparedness. We should know before we prepare just what use we intend to make of our new military strength. If our enlarged army and navy are to protect our coasts and our territory and stop at that preparedness should be on one scale. If our military forces are to back up the Monroe Doctrine and repel European attempts to partition South America, after Africa has been completely partitioned, then preparedness must be on a far larger scale.

Mr. Wilson does not meet this question. He seems to want to hedge on the Monroe Doctrine merely in order to excuse half-way preparation. Congress would do well to put the Wilson theory of Pan-Americanism aside—if it is really a theory and not a rhetorical diversion. We must build now for the future—for that uncertain future which the close of the European war will usher in. We must keep in view the possibility that the severest challenge to the Monroe Doctrine is yet to come.

A Continental army system would be of no value in protecting American interests under the Monroe Doctrine should they be assailed in such a manner as to call for military as well as naval action. In that case we should need a real army again.

The new Wilson message, therefore, holds out little light to Congress or the country. The President is a follower, not a leader, in the matter of military preparation. Congress should take up the task where he has left it and try to rise to the full height of a great duty—that of adequately reorganizing the United States against the political after-effects of the European war.

What the President said about the hyphenates who are now disturbing our peace is sound in itself. We must prepare to meet their menace by action, and prompt action. But it must be remem-

bered that their disloyal activities are only a symptom—a reflection here of the ill will in which this country is held by the governments which inspire such bushwhacking. We shall have even fewer friends abroad after the war is over than we have now. While disciplining the hyphenates we must prepare to meet the far greater peril of future European attempts to appropriate American soil and break down the American system.

A Patriarch.

To all descendants of "old American" stock, sons and daughters of the Revolution, great-grandchildren of the pioneers who cleared our forests of undergrowth and Indians and peopled a continent—to that sterile remnant of a once noble race, greetings of good cheer. Unless we are much mistaken, there lives in Plymouth, N. C., one not unworthy scion of those heroic sires, a patriarch of oak, one W. B. Davis. Mr. Davis, who is in his ninety-fifth year, is the father of forty-one, the grandfather of 192 and the great-grandfather of a number rapidly expanding with the diurnal sequence. But, undaunted by age and vast domestic experience, he has just taken to himself a fourth wife. Twenty-five of his children and more than one hundred of his grandchildren attended the wedding ceremony.

Despite the carpers and critics and pessimists, there must remain some unplumbed depths of fertility and endurance in a stock which can produce even a single such seedling as our Southern brother. His stout web of life reaches back, to be sure, to that dim past when patriarchs were the rule. But in his and following generations he long held aloft the torch of race perpetuation amid the deepening shadows of race suicide, and he appears to have handed it down to his descendants. May they continue to multiply and take root in an arid soil!

"He is enjoying good health," we learn, "but has been complaining of being lonesome." Lonesome, indeed, with his regiment of offspring in this day and age!

An Anti-odor Dinner.

It has long been a commonplace that armies fight better on full stomachs, although one would suppose that this practice might be attended with some discomfort on the modern skirmish line. In any event, food seems to be the foundation of all valor that is not "Dutch courage," which may account for the prominence given it in almost every organized effort which man puts forth, warlike or peaceful. It heartens him, and if a tiny bit of "Dutch courage" be added, why, so much the better, say our organizers.

Just now a number of the good citizens of our upper West Side are determined to abate the odors which the prevailing zephyrs carry to them from the New Jersey shore of the Hudson. They feel that unless the factories of New Jersey are made to adhere to the Hague rules and to cease the employment of poisonous gases they of the upper West Side will have to don masks such as are worn in the French trenches or acknowledge defeat and move away. Hence their crusade to end the nuisance, and what more natural than to begin it with a dinner, an "anti-odor dinner," in the phrase of the copywriter?

Only another indication of the despotic rule of convention—to prepare one's self against evil odors with a hearty meal! The smells of Edgewater—what a subject for after-dinner oratory! But it is hoped that some of the heads of the factories contributing to the odors will be present. So, after all, there may be method in this madness.

Lady Eglantine is with us. Who could have foretold when as a chick she stepped out of her shell that some day she would occupy a bridal suite?

Canada's Quickly Placed Loan.

Some idea of the depth of the war feeling in Canada may be gathered from the fact that within ten hours after the books were open for a domestic war loan of \$50,000,000 the entire issue was oversubscribed. Of this sum Montreal subscribed \$17,000,000, Toronto \$10,000,000, and the private subscriptions ranged from \$100 to \$1,000,000. The bonds were offered in denominations of \$100, \$500 and \$1,000, and in multiples of \$5,000. In the allotment it is proposed to give small subscribers the preference. It is stated that all parts of the Dominion were represented in the subscriptions. The overwhelming success of the loan is expected to lead to the issue of a second one, probably in March. This was the first appeal by the government to the people for direct financial aid, and the quick and ample response is taken to mean that Canada will be as ready to contribute money as she has been to furnish men to the mother country and the allied cause.

Garlic as an Antiseptic.

Garlic, which French medical officers are prescribing among their antiseptics in the present war, performed a similar office for our ancestors during epidemics of the plague. This malarious nati e of the Kirghis Desert came to us about 1648 and was sold at Garlick Hill, in the City. It proved too pungent for our national palate and soon lost here the popularity still retained on the Continent, but especially in Spain. Garlic is botanically near akin to the romantic lily.

Less Rhetoric, More Thought.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In his message the President says in regard to Mexico: "We have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing." What does President Wilson mean by this? He "took" Vera Cruz, put President Huerta out and first took up with Villa and turned Mexico over to anarchy, and now supports Carranza. He sent as his envoy to Mexico William Bayard Hale, who is a German sympathizer and writer for "The Fatherland."

Whose "choosing" is the present condition of Mexico? Is it President Wilson's choosing or Germany's choosing? Less written rhetoric and more sense of speech, if not of thought, is what the American people want from President Wilson. If we are "too proud to fight" we are not a people to want this sort of stuff from our President.

LAWRENCE GODKIN.

New York, Dec. 7, 1915.

WHO SHALL PAY TAXES?

Land Owners or Workers and Industry Now Heavily Burdened?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Mr. Manierre, unwittingly I am sure, conveys the impression that Dr. Haig, expert of the Mayor's Committee on Taxation, is opposed to transferring taxes now levied on buildings here to land values. Before the Mayor's Committee on Taxation Dr. Haig stated that he favored this principle.

Mr. Manierre, in his letter, quotes Dr. Haig to the effect that the untaxing of buildings is "not a safe craft in all weathers." This is, of course, true of most other things; but Dr. Haig also states, on the same page of his report on Canadian cities to which Mr. Manierre refers: "The time to make the transfer is when land values are increasing. It may be desirable to adopt the policy, but it is well to recognize the cost involved. Whether it is desirable to adopt the policy is a question of weighing the gains to be realized against the risks and losses to be suffered."

In his report on "Probable Effects" of untaxing buildings in New York City Dr. Haig states, "the change promises ultimate benefits of considerable importance to all tenants and to many of the small home owners in the outlying boroughs," and also "the owners of land would be charged with the cost of these improvements."

In view of the self-evident fact that owners of land are the principal beneficiaries of all wise municipal expenditures, the question is one of justice between land owners—less than 2 per cent of the city's population—and tenants and small home owners, because small home owners are primarily owners of homes and only secondarily owners of very small values of land.

Mr. Manierre has not correctly reported Dr. Haig as to the effect of the proposed change upon the selling price of land. It is a truism that the value of land for use will remain the same whether government gets the ground rent or private interests do. The difference is that to the extent that government permits land owners to secure the ground rent of land, a community product, government must take the wages or earnings of workers of all sorts for the cost of government. The selling price of land in New York, as has been brought out clearly before the Mayor's Committee on Taxation, would not be reduced at all by the transfer of taxes now levied on buildings to land values during a period of ten years.

Mr. Manierre should not be ignorant—is he?—of the fact that Pittsburgh and Scranton have started to reduce the tax rate on buildings to one-half of that on land values with no evil results. Is Mr. Manierre ignorant of the fact that land speculators of Pittsburgh tried to get the law repealed, and that Governor Brumbaugh vetoed the repealer last spring because the change was so popular in Pittsburgh?

Right here in New York City, a few years ago, we adopted a much more drastic change, when unimproved land, which had been assessed at one-third of its true value, was assessed at full value, as was all other land, approximately.

The citizens of New York should face the fact that we shall have to raise a budget for local and state purposes of \$250,000,000 by 1919 or 1920, and the further fact that the Federal government must raise several hundred million dollars a year additional. New York City can raise the increased revenue by taking more of the ground rent or by taxing workers and industry to the welcoming shores of New Jersey and nearby counties of New York and Connecticut.

The selling prices of land of New York City have probably reached rock bottom, and the water has been largely squeezed out. They are bound to increase, and now is the time to make the proposed change which will attract people to New York City. The added population and industry, as well as the better health and financial status of the existing population, will accelerate increases not only of the assessed value but as well of the selling price of land.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH.

New York, Nov. 23, 1915.

"Much Disappointed."

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your recent harsh criticisms of the administration seem to have aroused no little elation on the part of some of your readers. There are other friends of The Tribune, however, I venture to say, who are much disappointed at your attitude. I have read The Tribune for very many years and have admired its policies on many questions; therefore I feel entitled to express my regret at your attacks on President Wilson.

If your suggestions were put into practice I have no doubt we should soon be at war with Germany and her allies. Nothing would suit them better. We have no army to put into the field against them and could not get an effective one ready for many months; probably not before the end of the war. We have no navy to spare; in fact, have not enough vessels to adequately protect our own extensive coast lines.

Then, again, this war has taught the enormous value of ample supplies of ammunition. It is evident that we would have to store up vast amounts of war materials just at the time the Allies most need those war materials, because we are to all intents and purposes totally unprepared for war so far as munitions are concerned. The need exists for the truest patriotism and lofty idealism of Lincoln. I am sure that time will again change the opinion not only of the editor of The Tribune but of that small minority who cannot look beyond the immediate present and who fail to comprehend that the policies of the administration are not only just and fair but are the only policies that can conserve the best interests not only of our country but of those nations also who are giving their best in blood and treasure for those ideals on which are founded the only hope of permanent peace.

Since you have so severely criticised the administration, fairness demands that you should present this opposite view.

J. W. JOHNSON.

New York, Dec. 1, 1915.

Why?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Will you kindly tell me why "The New York World" is always insulting Colonel Roosevelt—is it a personal matter, as some say, or only that they dislike him politically? I read both The Tribune and "World," but often feel that I must give the latter up for that reason. The Colonel, of course, has his failings—who has not? But can any one say he is not a sound American, upright, honorable and fearless?

All hail to The Tribune for its fine editorials; every one enjoys them.

Brooklyn, Dec. 3, 1915.

TRIBUNITE.

NOT WHY, BUT HOW.



AN AMERICAN'S "JACCUSE"

Mr. Wilson, with Greatest Opportunity in History Confronting Him, Buried His Talents—His "Check-Book Diplomacy" America's Shame—He Is Held Responsible for Failure of Neutral Nations to Meet Crisis, Thus Prolonging the War, with Its Untold Horrors.

thought, but to give our full sympathy to Greece struggling for freedom in 1821. But when the essence of that democracy upon which our nation has been founded was being attacked, when dynastic autocracy was sought to be imposed upon the world, when innocent Belgium was being devastated, when women by hundreds were being ravished and civilians by thousands were being murdered, when the appalling doctrine of frightfulness was being instituted and war made doubly hideous, Mr. Wilson begs us to be neutral in thought. It were better that our people should have perished from off the earth than that we should have heeded this infamous advice.

For was there any internal danger to the nation to be avoided by cowardly personal neutrality. The pro-German sentiment which has arisen in a small fraction of our population of German origin has resulted solely from the failure of Mr. Wilson to make clear from the beginning the difference in ideals between American democracy and German junkerism. The existing cancer of a hyphenate in our land, a cancer sedulously nourished by Prussian emissaries, is due entirely to Mr. Wilson's attitude. The truth of this statement is clearly shown by the fact that in Canada, where the proportion of inhabitants of German birth or parentage is even greater than in the United States, there is no pro-Germanism. The difference in the ideals of Germany and America has been made as clear to them as to the expatriates of 1848, and from many of the Canadian communities of German immigrants the enlistment and support of the British cause have been as great as from the Anglo-Saxon communities. Mr. Wilson's course in this matter not only has not served mankind, but has been directly the cause of the failure of the United States to show itself homogeneous. He has torn his own country asunder. The partial success of the unofficial war which Germany is waging upon us in fomenting strikes, burning our factories and blowing up our legitimate industries is entirely attributable to Mr. Wilson.

The Hague conventions contemplated the imposition of a duty upon the signatories, and the United States intended to assume this duty. It is therefore supremely important whether it can be shown that conditions such as the failure of certain belligerents to adhere to the conventions make a technical avoidance of this obligation tenable. The spirit of these conventions, which is the spirit of civilization, demanded action by us, action that clearly need not have been military intervention, but just as clearly should have been an earnest protest against the flagrant violation of these conventions. This duty Mr. Wilson entirely failed to perform.

Had this protest, which our honor and our obligation "to serve mankind" demanded, been duly made, its effect would have been incalculable. It would have consolidated the opinion of the neutral nations and brought them to a realization of their own duties. While perhaps it would have been too late to prevent the violation of Belgium, it would undoubtedly have prevented most of the horrors which took place not only there but in other conquered territory, in Serbia and in Poland. It would have prevented the institution of the doctrine of frightfulness, which Germany adopted step by step when each successive fragrant failure to elicit the opinion of protest which it merited. It would have forced the whole neutral world, which had its gaze fixed upon the United States, to an immediate recognition of the rights and wrongs of the conflict. It would have made it evident that the ultimate defeat of the German cause was inevitable, and would have made impossible the entrance into the war on the side of Germany of any other nations. It would have concentrated the whole force of world opinion against Germany and made it necessary that the war should have been ended in the winter of 1914-15.

Instead of a protest against Germany, Mr. Wilson's first protest in December, 1914, was against Great Britain, and was based wholly upon financial considerations. American trade had already begun to gain huge profits from huge sales at huge prices to the Entente nations; Mr. Wilson's note showed that he was prepared to aid in getting other

Mr. Wilson and the G. O. P.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I see in your paper a lot of people think if I, R. were President everything would be all right. I voted for him three times, and if he runs again I will vote for Mr. Wilson, and there are thousands of members of the Grand Old Party that will do the same.

G. S. PARKER.

Astoria, L. I., Dec. 4, 1915.